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126 Usually, field notes were classified, typed in triplicate, and filed according to a modification of the system of the Outline of Cultural Materials prepared by George P. Murdock and others for use in the Cross-Cultural Survey at Yale University (Murdock and others, 1938). In this way it was possible for all workers to find immediately what had already been collected on a subject and to discover discrepancies in accounts when these existed. The system also served to show deficiencies in the data.

123 Certain other problems in field methods arose. Cherán habits place some obstacles in the way of field work. The main occupations of the town are farming and forest exploitation. In [512] the former case, men are usually in the fields all day, often at points several miles distant from town. In the latter instance, men may be away from town for 4 or 5 days at a time. In certain seasons the town is almost deserted during the day. As women will not talk with strange men [609] in the absence of their husbands, it often took many visits to find at home a man we wished to query on some specific point. In addition, yards are surrounded by high walls and it is customary to greet visitors at the yard gate and converse with them on the street. Consequently, it is difficult to gain much insight into home life. Only women can get free access into the houses, and it is unfortunate that Sra. Rendón could not have spent full time in the field. Certain aspects of this study would then have been much better than they are.

In general, the method followed was first to discuss a topic with Sr. Chávez in detail, obtaining from him as complete an account as possible. In some cases Sr. Chávez also wrote supplementary accounts. Efforts were always made to get the names of specific people who were involved. Once we had obtained what might be considered Sr. Chávez's view of a particular aspect of the culture, this was sometimes checked with Sr. Rangel. On other occasions we started with Sr. Rangel and checked with Sr. Chávez. An effort was then made to visit and talk with a large number of the people concerned. For example, after securing Sr. Chávez' account of childbirth, a list of all the professional midwives in town was secured. These were all then visited by Dr. Palacios and interviewed intensively. Some were inter-

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123 viewed independently by other staff members. Data were likewise taken from as many women as possible. In another instance, accounts were secured of as many fiestas and *mayordomías* as possible. Each *mayordomo* and other ceremonial official was then visited and interviewed, often several times. Finally, in this instance, as many ceremonies as possible were observed. In the case of economic life, virtually every specialist in town was interviewed and the data were checked and cross-checked. In addition, a representative sample of forest workers and farmers were interviewed. This process was facilitated by the existence of a complete roster of males of voting age for two *barrios*, together with their major occupations, given to us by the town authorities. In the case of farmers, the tax rolls of the tax collector's office were opened to us, giving some check on land ownership. Some fields were paced to estimate size (measurement was out of the question for various local reasons), and observations were made on the length of time taken to complete various farm tasks. At harvest time, the actual production of fields was determined by observing the harvest closely. In this case, data given by informants proved markedly variable from the facts. Prices of all products were established by questioning numerous producers and also by questioning buyers. Obviously procedures varied with different topics, but the examples given perhaps sufficiently indicate the general method employed.

000 In conclusion, acknowledgment should be made of assistance and encouragement given by persons not directly concerned with the field study. Dr. Morris Swadesh, director of the *Proyecto Tarasco*, an experiment in bilingual education with headquarters in the nearby town of Paracho, together with all the members of his staff, was extremely helpful in many ways. Scores of residents of Michoacán at one time or another rendered personal assistance. In Mexico City, Dr. Paul Kirchhoff and Miguel O. de Mendizabal were helpful, both in personal matters and in giving numerous suggestions and leads for problems to investigate. Sr. Luis Chávez Orozco, then chief of the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas,

632 651 fiestas (except Corpus) must pay a small tax based on the amount of space occupied. Income from this source averages $5 or $6 weekly.

7. Certification of documents. This is rather rare, consisting of charges for copies of documents, marriage or birth records, etc.

8. Taxes on forest products. All forest products sold outside the community are taxed by the Federal Government and must be accompanied by a certificate of origin. Dealers in the large centers pay the tax, surrendering the certificate of origin. The Federal Government then remits 30 percent of the tax to the State government and 20 percent to the municipal government.

[642] It should be noted that real estate taxes in Mexico are a monopoly of the Federal Government and there are no local taxes. Ten percent of all local collections other than the registry of brands is paid to the State government and 5 percent to the Federal Government.

The income from all these sources varies. In the first 3 months of the year it may exceed $300 a month. At other times it may be as low as $125 a month. In the year Pedro Chávez was treasurer it totaled about $1,800. In 1940 it must have been considerably higher, [123] but the investigators were already sufficiently on sufferance to be unable to demand access to the current town records.

632 652 Expenditures against income are as follows:

	Per month
Two policemen at $0.75 (a third policeman was added in 1941)	$45.50
Municipal secretary	45.00
Court secretary	30.00
Treasurer (25 percent of income at an estimated $150 monthly average)	37.50
Monthly average	$158.00

In addition, there are some occasional small irregular expenditures, for instance, painting the plaza benches for a fiesta etc. These are small, for the regular expenses pretty well use up the regular income. The treasury usually has only 2 or 3 pesos in it at the end of the year and often shows a small deficit of 10 or even 20 pesos. For this reason, unusual expenditures [651] are financed by a collection.

The treasurer is required to make three types of reports, one to the Federal Treasury Depart-

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583 to marry the girl by a certain date. He failed
684 to do so, as he wished to marry another girl and knew also that the girl laying the charges visited a house of assignation. He was thrown in jail. Later, his mother went his bond and he was released. The boy fled town and had not returned several months later. His mother was put in jail overnight but was released the next day.

123 The preceding discussion is a very unsatis-
671 factory treatment of conflict situations and law. Information on the unformalized personal and familial conflicts is very scanty. Intimate day to day knowledge of households which would produce such information is extremely difficult to secure in Cherán. On the other hand, not enough detailed material was secured on the types of conflicts reaching the *municipio* to make possible any adequate statement regarding legal concepts. In theory, the law in Cherán is Mexican law. Enough examples have perhaps been given to indicate that much of the justice dispensed in the *municipio* is according to informal and generally accepted rules. Only observation of a very large number of cases would permit abstracting the principles on which action is based.

RELIGION AND CEREMONIAL

794 priest. The Mass, Rosary, confession, baptism,
796 confirmation, and so on all fall in this category. A more or less conventional church organization headed by a priest is almost solely responsible for these ceremonies. Associated with
575 this part of the religious organization are the various societies, such as those of the Sacred Heart, Daughters of Mary, Apostles of Saint Joseph, and the Third Order of Saint Francis. Linked with the church organization in part is the *cabildo* or the ačes.

796 Forming a mixture of church and community
527 ceremonials are the fiestas. The organization of fiestas is related to the political organization and, aside from the Mass and strictly church rituals, the fiestas are essentially secular celebrations centering round a religious object.

796 The *mayordomías* are the third important type of religious ceremony and are connected with the church through the *carguero* system and

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MAYORDOMÍAS

7% *Mayordomías* are undertaken by families voluntarily. The word family is used advisedly, for it is doubtful if a man would ask for a *mayordomía* unless his wife was in full accord, for much of the successful carrying out of the duties depends on the cooperation of the wife. The motives are definitely religious and the persons taking *mayordomías* are always pious and loyal Catholics. In visiting the various [123] *cargueros* and observing the images of the saints, almost every time the first question asked of my guide (in Tarascan) when I visited a house was whether I was one "who could see the saints," that is, was I for or against the saints and the *mayordomías*. However, certain of the *mayordomías* are restricted to specific occupations.

For the most part the *mayordomías* are 782 undertaken to secure some future good or to 7% give thanks for some past good. Undoubtedly [554] *mayordomías* are sometimes undertaken to secure social prestige, but this appears to be a rare motive. Generally the *mayordomía* is sought as the result of a promise, *manda*. If a man has no sons, he may promise to seek a *mayordomía* if he should be favored with a male offspring. Sick persons, or families in which there are sickly children, may also make such a promise. On the other hand, one who has prospered greatly may seek a *mayordomía* to express his gratitude.

One family, as an example, had a sickly son. The parents obtained the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child, one of the most expensive. As the mother put it, "The child seemed comforted at the presence of the Holy Child in the house and improved." The following year the parents sought and obtained the *mayordomía* of the Three Kings. As improvement continued, they added several items to the celebration of the *mayordomía*, paying the expenses of the dance group, which up to that time had been independent.

Other types of promises are also made. 788 Vows to make the pilgrimage to San Juan de [782] las Colchas (Parangaricutiro) have already been mentioned, but shrines of other saints may also be visited. Usually some slight gift, a

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608 The godfather is supposed to supervise the
861 growing up of the child. He should see that his godchild "grows straight like a tree" and is properly trained and clothed, and he should make presents of clothing from time to time and remedy any deficiencies in the parents. Should the parents die, the godfather is responsible for rearing the child.

553 The name is usually selected by the parents.
574 There are four ways of naming a child: using the name of the saint on whose day the child was born; the name of some distinguished person; a name selected by the godfather; the name of some relative, such as the grandparent or sibling of the parents. In the case of persons named for San Juan, San José, San Pedro, San Pablo, or San Francisco there are special observances in connection with their name day throughout the rest of their lives. Early in the morning, people visit persons of these names on their name day; often they will be strangers, for it suffices if one member of the party knows the person. The guests merely say "Good-morning" to the person visited and then are given *posole*. They may then stay around and talk a bit or may leave immediately, merely saying "Thank you" in the ordinary way. Sometimes the band starts at midnight, going around to various persons' houses and playing. In some cases the band members appear to be paid and to come by invitation, but in others they seem merely to be following the usual custom.

Persons with other names are also expected to show hospitality on their name day. When one of the schoolmasters, who is a native of the town but is stingy and not well liked, celebrated his name day, the town officials thought it would be a good joke to invite themselves to his house for dinner and did so. Meeting members of the staff of the study on the street, the mayor and secretary promptly invited them along. As the invitation was not seconded by
● [123] the rather surly school teacher, who showed considerable signs of distress already, the invitation was not accepted.

751 Infants are subject to a number of diseases,
754 but there are few special treatments for them.
854 Only the evil eye must be guarded against especially, for it is usually fatal for infants of a year or less. This illness is especially in-

585 lings and cousins and grandparents of the groom together have hired another band and at this time they separate themselves from the rest of the groom's relatives. [They go through the streets with the musicians, ultimately going to the house of one of the groom's uncles where they eat dinner. The remainder of the groom's relatives and the guests eat at the house of the groom. Tortillas, kurúndas (tamales), and čurípo (beef broth with cabbage, chile, and chunks of beef) are served.]

After the dinner is served, the party is prepared to go for the bride. This is called the p'ipejperakua. The party consists of the parents of the groom and their brothers and all the friends of the parents. [574] [Actually not all go; those who are invited to go on the party are given iris leaves which they carry with them. Staff members at weddings were frequently [123] given invitations to accompany the party in this same form.] The same relatives of the bride are all assembled at her house, ready, as are the friends of the parents. [The party of the groom's relatives is accompanied by musicians. The party goes first to the house of the godparents of the bride. They serenade the house outside and then the closer relatives enter the house. They form a circle before the godfather and the godmother of the bride. The marriage manager makes a long but informal speech, asking permission to take the bride. The godfather replies, giving his permission. All present then shake hands with the godfather and godmother, making a movement simulating kissing the hand. The group leaves the house, accompanied by the godparents.] Arriving at the house of the bride's parents, the groom's relatives immediately ask for the bride. [Actually, only the closer relatives again go inside, accompanied by the musicians. The marriage manager again asks for the bride.] When consent is granted, they start for the groom's house, carrying with them the clothing they have ready. [For a big wedding a procession of a hundred or more people may have formed by the time the group returns to the groom's house.] In the meantime the other relatives of the boy [the siblings, cousins, and grandparents] arrive with their musicians and do the same [that is, they take off the siblings, cousins, and grandparents of the bride] who carry quantities of clothing. This consists of shirts for men and women, trousers for men, jackets for men and women, sashes for women, and bags, and tortilla cloths, the latter two objects to be given the groom at the time all the others are changing clothing and bread. In the house of the groom's father the guests are all seated as before. [The godmothers are again seated on mats in the center and the bride sits for a time beside the godmother of baptism. Guests continue to arrive and additional ribbons are tied in the hair of the godmothers and long and elaborate paper ornaments fastened to sticks are placed in the hair. All the relatives of the groom give cigarettes to the groom's father when they arrive in the courtyard for the first time and also give cigarettes to the godfathers

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INTRODUCTION

668 attitude of the people toward government officials and toward strangers in general.

[609] The political struggle today has a strong religious tinge, for or against the Church, and local religious institutions are involved. While the traditional system of organizing cult festivals is somewhat in decadence, the Catholic church is strongly supported by the sinarquistas. The government anti-religious policy on the other hand is associated with the agraristas.

● 123 The ethnologist approaching a Tarascan town becomes aware of these conflicts on his very first attempt at contact with the people. He confronts the problem of being classified politically and having to define his attitude. This has made work difficult or even impossible in some cases.

182 The problem, then, of integrating the phenomena studied in Tarascan villages to the wider phenomena of national Mexican culture and society becomes imperative for any meaningful discussion of culture change among these people.

121 The concept of folk culture as something different from national culture, yet related to it, seems to be the best conceptual tool with which to handle problems arising from the relation between a given local community and the nation as a whole.[3]

Anthropologists studying modern Indian cultures of Mexico have followed the so-called community approach. They have selected one town and have studied the culture of that particular settlement as a self-contained unit. This approach, although useful and necessary, has to be supplemented by relating the local manifestations to the national processes of which they are only part.

The nation can be considered the primary culture carrying unit in our Western civilization. Within the nation, people are divided into local communities determined by common residence (abstraction being made of what determines common residence). Cutting across local communities, other segments of society are not defined by common residence of their members but by some other factor such as property

3. The author experienced the need for this approach while working in the field, but his theoretical approach to this problem took shape in Dr. Julian Steward's Seminar on Anthropology and Community Studies, at Columbia University.